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INDIAN EDUCATION.

Indian education may be classed among the important questions of the day, whether considered from the sociological stand-point of race development, or as a phase of the race problem, or simply viewed from its politico-economic side. We have always had with us the Indian problem since our forefathers first landed upon this continent. We have experimented with this Indian for centuries and still find him a problem. We have fought him and fed him by turns; we have removed him from one place to another; we have made fitful and impulsive attempts to educate and civilize him; we have given him blankets, arms, ammunition, money, food, Bibles, whisky, missionaries, teachers, soldiers, land agents, treaty-commissioners, lawyers and Indian agents. For all of these gifts he has returned true Indian gratitude. Under such a variety of indulgences he has acted the spoiled child, and has broken treaties, scalped the brethren, attacked the missionaries with the tomahawk, joined the ghost dance, and even has dared to contend for both real and imaginary rights. He has frequently taken on the worse forms of our civilization while he has neglected the better. Even now there is no commonly accepted opinion of what is best to be done under the general management. It may be said, however, that within recent years great progress has been made, not only in regard to what may be done, but by actually doing something practical and systematic for the welfare of the Indian. The Government has at last shaped something like a definite policy for his permanent treatment. The greatest step that has been made is in education, and this is of quite recent date. Thorough and efficient education is the only means to help the Indian permanently. To feed him, clothe him and give him land, farming implements or stock, and tell

him to engage in industrial pursuits is of little use. To educate him in the way of industry under wise supervision, to show him how to begin and carry on industrial and self-supporting life, is the prime object. In order to accomplish this it is necessary to give the greatest painstaking attention to the education of the Indian. The older Indians of the tribe may be past systematic education, past a decided reform, but there can be aroused in them a sentiment for something better and higher for their children.

The great difficulty now is to give the Indian the proper kind of treatment during the process of education and to insure the usefulness of educated powers. The great problem is to take members of a savage or barbarous race, little acquainted with the arts and industries of modern life, and less inclined to follow them, and to familiarize them with these, at the same time planting within them a desire for improvement. It has been stated by one acquainted with Indian affairs, that "an Indian will do just what a white person would do under similar circumstances." This may convey a wrong impression, unless we examine carefully into what constitutes similar circumstances.

In the first place there is a wide gulf between the civilization of the Indian and that of the white race. On no occasion does this become more apparent than when we attempt to educate the Indian and turn him to the practical affairs of modern life. When he first came into contact with the Anglo-Saxon he was still in a state of savagery, or in some cases had entered the first stages of barbarism. He came in contact with a race which had not only passed through all these stages, but had entered that of commerce, beyond which it has since advanced and reached the height of the industrial stage, having developed at the same time a high degree of learning and culture. Moreover the cultured race had a compact and stable political organization, while the Indian race had a half formed tribal existence. All this was strange and new to the uncultured mind of the native of the forest, and he who attempts to solve

the problem of Indian education, either theoretically or practically, must recognize that the circumstances surrounding the Indians are so different from those surrounding our own race that the two races may not be placed in the same category. The social, political and industrial conditions of the two races are so widely different as to demand for the Indian special and separate treatment.

The fundamental processes of education of any race may be carried on in one or more of the following three modes of development :

1. That of self-development and self-determination.
2. The process of imitation.
3. Compulsory activity.

The first process is necessary in all true education ; without it the best quality of human development is lacking. If we examine the Indians of the west who still retain their tribal relations we shall find that in the tribes of pure blood the self-determining principle is almost wanting. In no recorded instance has such a tribe shown a desire to rise higher in civilization, accompanied by a set determination to accomplish anything single-handed. And it is still this lack of self-determination and self-development that makes the disposition of the Indian different from that of the sturdy Anglo-Saxons, who have had this from the beginning of history and have developed it during two thousand years of positive progress, yielding, as a result, some of the best types of culture of both hemispheres.

If we turn our attention to the second phase of education, that of imitation, we shall find on this score that the Indians have made some progress in adopting the manners and customs of the people with whom they have for a long period come in contact. We shall find they have made progress in civilized life, and it may be stated here, that just in proportion as their own blood has become mixed with that of the white race they have shown this tendency to imitation. The third, or compulsory process,

has not yet been applied directly to tribes and races, although in some cases to individuals. Certain expedients have been tried by the government, from time to time, to force Indians out of their natural gait; but these have been usually incidental and unsystematic. Not until of late years has any well developed plan been adopted for the purpose of forcing the Indian into the ranks of modern civilized life. This is an artificial process, but it is the last resort to save the race. Properly pursued it may lead to self-development. If compulsory education is accompanied with an earnest attempt to arouse the latent energies of his nature, he may take pleasure in his own salvation if not pride in his higher development.

The last two phases of education must of necessity be more or less artificial, for imitative education is not as permanent as the self-determined, but is largely brought about by the development of inferior powers of the mind. We shall find that the imitative education, though valuable, has failed to prepare a nation or tribe for sturdy, independent existence. We can never be sure that a nation or tribe has become educated in a way that will make it independent and strong until the self-determining principles arouse it to a sense of its needs, with the desire to satisfy them regardless of what others are doing or have done. The Indian is not, then, in a condition at present for the self-determining principles to develop unaided by outside influences. In imitation he has not made rapid progress. There are those tribes and fragments of tribes that have lived in the presence of civilization these hundred years without reaping any permanent results from the same. Left to compete unaided, with the modern industrial system, they perish. And, indeed, they have lived in this condition without any desire to take on anything beyond the worst forms of our own system of civilization. Other tribes have suffered their tribal relations to be broken and losing their barbarous spirit have turned to our civilization. They have been isolated within the heart of civilized

society and have been forced by circumstances to adopt modern modes of life. The education which is forced can in no way be as beneficial as that which springs spontaneously within the pupil, but it is the best we have to give the Indian, with the hope that there may spring up within him what may lead him in due time to higher development.

The recent law passed for the compulsory education of Indians is a step in the right direction. In time it may be made of more permanent value by development and extension. Although we may urge that these people might ultimately be persuaded to adopt voluntarily the means of a higher culture, yet there is no time to wait for such developments in the case of the Indians of to-day. Their immediate education is their only salvation. They must be forced as far as possible to transform their mode of living in accordance with the customs of modern industrial and civil life.

It is not to be supposed that parents of Indian children are capable of determining whether education is good for their children or not. Indeed, it is hardly conceivable that those who have reached advanced years would willingly turn away from their savage life, when we consider the past relations of the United States Government to its Indian wards, as they may be called. The Government may stand in *in loco parentis*, and may feel great responsibility for the Indians, but what is to be done must be done at once, and thoroughly, or the good which has already been gained will be lost.

The compulsory education act passed by Congress and approved March, 1891, provides as follows :

“ * * * * the Commission of Indian Affairs, subject to the direction of the Secretary of the Interior, is hereby authorized and directed to make and enforce by proper means such rules and regulations as will secure the attendance of Indian children of suitable age and health at schools established and maintained for their benefit.”

In the following October Commissioner Morgan drew up a list of rules and regulations to be observed by all Indian workers. The law applies to all Indians subject to absolute control and under the especial protection of the United States, but the law does not apply to the Indians residing in the State of New York, the Pueblo Indians of New Mexico, the five civilized tribes, and the Indians residing in States and who have become citizens of the United States. The commissioner held that so far as practicable the preferences of Indian parents or guardians of Indian youth of sufficient maturity and judgment should be regarded, but children of a suitable age must attend school, either public or private. All those between five and eighteen years of age who are found by a special medical examination to be in good health, are compelled to attend school. As a rule, Indian children will attend the schools established for their benefit on their respective reservations, but in case such schools are already filled they may be required to attend non-reservation schools. Should any refuse they are referred to the Indian office for treatment under this act. The aim and object of this law, as explained by Commissioner Morgan, is to insure education to all Indians of the rising generation and their preparation to enter modern civilized life. The duties of agents, supervisors, and superintendents are explicitly defined. The chief duty of the agent, however, is to keep the Government schools filled with children. The supervisors of education have the care of certain districts; they inspect the same and report upon different schools within their district. They have the power to transfer the children from one school to another and from reservation to non-reservation schools. The superintendents of non-reservation industrial training schools and of reservation government boarding schools shall, on or about the first of April of each year, send to the office a report stating, as far as possible, the condition of the schools and the number of pupils enrolled for the fiscal year.

This law, with its regulations, is calculated to cover the

entire field of education and to compel the attendance of all students of a suitable age, and thus take from the Indian parents the care and responsibility of educating their own children. It is thought that the rising generation will be strong enough on completing the requirements and training of modern industrial life to withstand the downward tendency of the ignorant and barbarous tribes.

It seems a sad thing to force children to attend school away from home and against the wishes of their parents, but it is the only hope of salvation for the Indian race. The tribal inspiration and the tribal influence must be broken up, and the Indians must be taught to take their stand among the people of their country, to toil for their bread and to engage in the industries of common life. They must be prepared for intelligent citizenship ; they must know how to gain and hold property ; they must understand their rights and be content with what belongs to them and ask for no more. With such education the Indian problem gives fair promise of solution.

To the Indian teacher or worker this means a great deal, for he knows too well the influences that are brought to bear upon the Indian children who desire to return to school after having once been there. If the present and coming generations be forced to obtain an education and to prepare for some one of the arts or industries of civilized life the great work has been well begun. If the government can go far enough to insure the results of this education to these students, a sure foundation for the great work will have been laid. In the education of our own youth we have been changing very much of late years. In the first place we realize that students must not only respect general culture, but must be fitted for something useful and specific. Every year witnesses the development of our educational system towards bringing about a direct contact of the school with practical life. We take pains not only to develop and cultivate the mind and train it for usefulness in any good pursuit, but we try to find for students positions of useful-

ness in the common occupations after they have completed their educational work. It may be proper, in theory, to prepare the Anglo-Saxon youth for his life work, to develop what we call the powers of the mind, and then let him go forth into the world to make a place for himself. This is the old theory, and in some respects it is a good one ; but the lines of competition are drawn so closely, and the places of business so well filled, that we feel disposed to give even our bold and hardy English youth all the assistance possible to prepare him for the activities of life. He may know something of many things, but we must assure him that, at the point of contact of his life with the world, he must know some one thing well and know how to take hold, and if necessary he must be shown how.

The Indian youth finds it even more difficult on the completion of his education to enter any chosen profession. The civilization on most of the reservations is developing slowly, and the number of industries which are practiced are comparatively few. There can be but few positions of trust or usefulness, until they are made, for the Indians who have already been educated. The greatest difficulty of Indian education is the relation of the educated individual to general society. What is the social, industrial and political status of the educated Indian? An answer to this question will bring vividly before us the true Indian problem. As has been stated, we cannot expect the average Indian to go among white people and compete, unaided, with the Anglo-Saxon in the business enterprises of the world. It is not a question of personal ability, but of personal relations. A youth brought up in the tribe, or on the reservation, finds it exceedingly difficult to make the connection between school life and the practical life of the world. The Indian youth, educated at one of the best schools, returns to his home in the native tribe, where he finds himself surrounded with all the influences of camp life ; he finds but little to do—knows not how to get a living. He may be ridiculed for having adopted citizen's clothes and manners, and because

of his education ; he may be importuned to turn aside from the course he has adopted, and to return to the old habits of camp life. If he succumb to this temptation, of what use is his education to him ? It is literally thrown away. This cannot be blamed upon the work of the schools. Since there are thorough and efficient schools the students are prepared by practical training for the pursuits of life, as well as given a general education in the elements of science and literature. No fault can be found with the reservation schools, or with the denominational schools in their earnest endeavor to give the Indians a thorough and efficient education. The great question at stake is the utility of education after once it has been gained, and in this we must see that the outlook is indeed gloomy, unless the government extend its work of educational reform into the very heart of society.

A plan has been developed, through the influence of Captain Pratt, of Carlisle Institute, which is termed the "Outing System." When an Indian youth has completed his education and is prepared to render useful service he is placed in some good family upon certain terms, and is to be protected from the baneful influences of uncivilized life. We can conceive of no better method for the development of Indian character. In close relationship to the family he becomes more and more accustomed to the civilized life and habits, with the thoughts and the best principles of the American home. He is enabled to ply his trade or calling from day to day, from year to year, until he becomes proficient. He is self-sustaining ; his character has become strong under the influence of home surroundings ; he has gradually, through home influence, developed character and independence, and is enabled, if necessary, to take his part in the struggle for existence.

It is found that the different classes of industrial reformatories have worked upon his plan for many years and it is found to be the one salvation, not only for Indian children, but for white as well. It is impossible to train a pauper or a criminal, or a child of any kind, which has existed under

evil influences, and then return him to the same low surroundings without his being drawn back to the old status of life. It is even more true of the educated Indian youth. He must struggle against the habits of the tribe acquired during centuries of life without civilization. He must meet all difficulties of race prejudice from above and below. A careful examination of the results of education in our best schools has shown us the dangers of the present system of Indian education. To those who are not conversant with the present Indian school system it may be stated that there are what are known as reservation schools, where pupils are taught the elements of learning. These schools are provided by the government agency or under similar circumstances by religious denominations. Here children are trained in the simple elements of education and prepared for higher work. After they complete the course they are allowed to enter one of the great training schools for higher education. There are at present no Indian colleges. Those who have been prepared for college work have entered some one of the universities or colleges of America. Haskell and Carlisle are the principal high schools of the Indian educational system. When the students have completed a term at a training school they are allowed to return to their homes. They should be placed in town or on farms to work.

The school work is now quite well systematized under the management of the Federal government. Besides the ninety-one government day schools with a capacity of 3,295, there are sixty-seven reservation boarding schools with an attendance of 5,290. There are also twelve non-reservation training schools of which Carlisle and Haskell are the two largest and most important. The attendance in 1890 was 2,788. Since then one school has been finished and five others have been projected, which will give, with those already in operation, a capacity for 4,660 students. In addition to these strictly government schools, something over 5,000 Indians are taught in contract schools. The

whole Indian field is divided into four districts, and each district is provided with a supervisor of schools. Over the entire school system a superintendent of Indian education is placed. The Indian agents at each of the reservations attend to keeping the children in school. The non-reservation schools report directly to the United States Commissioner of Indian Affairs. There is, then, room in all of the schools for the coming year for about 20,000 Indians. This instruction is carried on at a great expense by the government. The appropriation for 1892 was \$2,291,650. Comparing this with the fact that only \$20,000 was appropriated for this purpose in 1870, it shows in a measure the growth of the work in Indian education. It is hoped that the good work will go on until it is even better systematized and more thoroughly supported; then every Indian youth will be forced through a course of training and the way will be opened for industrial work and self-support.

The work of unification should continue until all of the contract schools are absorbed into the general system. Of the appropriations for 1892, \$604,240 was for the purpose of the support of contract schools. Nearly all of these schools are managed by religious denominations. The appropriations are doubtless unconstitutional as a general policy. The Commissioner so regards them, and his position seems well supported by the facts in the case. Benevolent institutions have been helped from time to time, when in distress, by both State and Federal governments, but a continual practice of annually voting aid to religious denominations, even in missionary work, is against the settled policy of the country. A movement toward the final nationalization of all Indian education, except that which is purely missionary, carried on by religious societies, has been recently inaugurated. All contract schools now receiving aid from the government by annual appropriations are under the same supervision as the government schools, in so far as such supervision does not seriously interfere with the organization and discipline of the church schools. This is a move in the

right direction. It ought to be said, however, that nothing should be done which would ignore the faithful services of religious denominations and missionary societies in their efforts to civilize the Indians. They should be encouraged and assisted in many ways by the government, but schools supported by regular appropriations of the government should be *government* schools. As the government has undertaken systematically to educate the Indian, it should complete the system and prepare all for citizenship, or else abandon the whole matter to religious denominations and let them carry on the work single handed. But it would be highly inexpedient for the government to abandon what it has so definitely undertaken. There is only one way for it to do, namely, go on extending the system, until the whole Indian race is absorbed into general citizenship.

Let us consider for a few moments the work at Haskell, and we shall see that it is thorough and competent, and that all has been done that the means of the school will allow. There is to be found there a body of thorough and efficient workers who have done all that could be done with the means placed in their hands. We must remember that the Institute has not been in existence for many years; there have been as yet but about eight years of school life at Haskell, scarcely enough to develop the original plans for the education of the Indian youth. Yet, in this time wonders have been accomplished in the training of the mind, in imparting the common elements of learning, and in the preparing for industrial pursuits. All who are interested in the future of the Indian race should visit Haskell and inspect the methods and system of the Institute. It is apparent that the students have ability to learn and to attain a fair grade of education.

Haskell Institute was founded chiefly through the earnest labors of Hon. Dudley C. Haskell, whose memory every Kansan delights to honor. An appropriation of \$50,000 by Congress in 1882, and a subsequent gift of 280 acres of land donated by the people of Lawrence for a site, were the substantial foundations of this noted institution. The school

was opened in September, 1884, under the direction of Dr. James Marvin, well known in the educational circles of Kansas. The school opened with seventeen pupils; the enrolment is now over five hundred, and it is second in size and importance among training schools, Carlisle leading in these respects. But the proximity of Haskell to the field of Indian work insures for it a more important place in the future.

At Haskell there are three large dormitories, one for girls and two for boys, one of which is for the small boys and one for the large. There are three workshops, one school building, a boiler-house and laundry, and a general superintendent's office. The present management is under the wise direction of Superintendent Chas. F. Meserve, and the educational work is carried on efficiently and thoroughly by Principal H. B. Peairs. These are highly cultured, practical and far-seeing men who throw the enthusiasm of their strong natures into the service. The result is thoroughness and efficiency in the entire work of the Institute.

Besides the usual grammar and high school education, the common industries are taught. Regular instruction is given in carpentering, blacksmithing, painting, tailoring, baking, shoemaking, farming, gardening, and all kinds of house work. There are eight grades in the grammar department; and discipline, instruction and courses of study are carried on after the most improved methods of the best public schools. In looking over the work done by these pupils, one not acquainted with the fact would scarcely suspect that it was done by any other than the white children of the common public schools.

It is interesting to note that the Indian students are enthusiasts on the subject of base ball. They have a well-trained nine which has won more games than any other nine in Kansas. In this they take much pride. A brass band is one of the features of Haskell and a source of much interest and pleasure. It appears in most public demonstrations in and around Lawrence, and gives open-air concerts

in the centre of the circle of the Institute grounds. In this connection it may be stated that an Indian quartette discourses sweet music at public exercises, and the writer has heard an Indian girl sing a solo with good grace and effect.

The only criticism that can be made is that sufficient opportunity is not given to the Indian to use his education. If he return to the reservation he is in danger of taking up the old life and allowing the real results of his education to lapse. The best way to understand what is meant is to examine the results of Indian education. For this purpose let us take up a few of the examples of students who have attended Haskell or Carlisle for some years : *

Example 1. An Indian of New York attended Haskell about five years. He completed the common school course, mastered the carpenter's trade successfully, and filled the position of assistant school carpenter during the last two years of his stay. Since going home he has been engaged in building houses for the Indians, working for contractors and constantly making good use of the knowledge gained at school.

Example 2. An Indian girl, of the Pottowatomie Tribe, attended Haskell three years, completed the common school course, and took some special training for teaching. After finishing her course she was appointed to teach a primary grade at the Otoe Boarding School, and all who saw her work in the school room can recommend her as a very successful teacher. In the fall of 1891 she married a former Haskell student, and they are now living in Wichita, Kansas.

Example 3. An Indian youth of the Kaw Tribe was at Haskell about three years and proved to be a very thorough student as far as he advanced. He learned the carpenter's trade and has been employed as agency carpenter at the Kaw Agency since he went home.

Example 4. Another young man, of the Pawnee Tribe, stayed at Haskell about three and one-half years. He was an average student, and learned tailoring and blacksmithing. Since returning home he has been employed as assistant blacksmith.

Example 5. A young man of the Cherokees attended Haskell three years. He completed the common school course and took one year of the high school work, and then learned the carpenter's trade. He has been working at the trade since going home and his employers speak well of him.

* The writer is indebted to Supt. Chas. F. Meserve and Prin. H. B. Peairs for the greater part of the following data.

Example 6. A young Indian of the Kickapoo Tribe was at Haskell three years. He completed the work in the primary grades and learned the carpenter's trade. Since leaving school he has supported himself and mother by working at his trade.

These examples show the capacity of the Indian youth for education and for its practical use when opportunity is given for its application. Other examples might be given of those who have become more proficient in learning at Carlisle, Haskell and elsewhere. One Indian, having studied medicine, has gone back to the Sioux reservation to practice among his people. The results of Indian education are best observed in manual training. Here their capacity is shown to best advantage, and from industrial education we may expect to obtain the best improvement of the race. Industrial education is so essential that it should be made compulsory, and every Indian should, beside his general education, be taught to do one thing well. He should be taught a trade or given a means of earning his own living. At Haskell all students are required to employ half their time in manual labor; but not all learn trades, although all must pass through a systematic course. During the first quarter a boy is engaged in learning how to farm; if he does well at this he is then given something else to do. The students are changed about from one thing to another in order to give them a variety of occupation and thus educate them in the common affairs of life. About three-fourths of those who graduate have learned one thing well, or have a means of earning a living. It may be said that this does not go far enough. The authorities should insist that every graduate and every pupil be compelled to devote himself to a trade or to practical and theoretical farming, so that he may have a certain means of earning his living. As it is, only those who desire learn trades. It should not be a matter of choice. Up to the present time there has not been shop room enough to give more than a limited number instruction in trades. The United States Government should see to it that nothing is wanting in

this respect. At present new buildings are being constructed for industrial purposes, and I presume that it is the plan of the superintendent to make the industrial features of the school more prominent and to insure to every boy and girl a means of earning a living. With faculties trained in the school room, in the shop and on the farm, with opportunity for their exercise in the affairs of life, and with the necessity of utilizing this opportunity, the Indian youth is prepared to solve the problem of his own destiny.

The most unfavorable phase of Indian education is seen in the attempt of the educated Indian to harmonize with his surroundings. Much of the good effect of education is lost on account of the lack of opportunity for the Indian to use his education and the lack of knowing just how to make a successful entrance into industrial and civil life. In this respect the government should exercise more care and see to it that the efficient work of the schools be not lost. The following examples will illustrate this point :

Example 7. An Osage Indian was at Haskell three years, during which term he became proficient in farming and gardening. In his school work he had advanced to the fourth grade. He went home with the expectation of returning soon to complete his education. He was persuaded by his relatives and friends to marry. He settled down to the life of a camp Indian and the force of his education is lost.

Example 8. An Osage Indian who was at Haskell three years learned to speak English fluently. He went home determined to become a farmer and stock raiser ; but he soon yielded to the influence of the old life that surrounded him and is now living the life of a camp Indian. He married a squaw and is living in a tent eight feet square.

Example 9. An Osage Indian girl. She was at Haskell Institute three years. While there she learned to do all kinds of housework, sewing and fancy work. In fact she became a most complete house-keeper. After returning home she wished to again return to Haskell and complete her education. Her parents refused to grant her permission, and to avoid further complication sold her to a blanket Indian for a number of ponies. After being compelled to live a life of degradation and misery for about two years she died, and thus passed to a world where, we trust, her education will be of some use to her, as it was doubtless of little benefit here.

Example 10. A Pawnee Indian boy who made a good record for three years at Haskell. While there he learned the blacksmith's trade. He learned to speak English fluently, and did fairly well at his books. After returning home he was influenced by the surroundings and became a blanket Indian. He married a school girl and they both relapsed into the common camp life, entirely under the influence of the camp Indians, whose ways they imitated.

Example 11. A Pawnee Indian girl who made a splendid record at Haskell during a period of three years. During this time she obtained a fair common school education and had become proficient in all kinds of housework. Two months after having returned to the home of her parents she was observed to be in full Indian dress, having abandoned the style of dress used at school, and was cooking meat in Indian style over a bed of coals in the centre of the wigwam. It is needless to say that dust and ashes were the principal seasoning. She kneaded the bread on the same blanket that was used to sleep in at night. An observer asked her if she liked this kind of life; she replied, "No; but he (pointing to her father) won't let me come back to school." Education had fitted her for a better life, but the parent forced her to comply with the conditions of degrading service. Soon after she was married to a common blanket Indian, which means that she is lost in the common herd and that her education will not save her from ruin.

Example 12. A Ponca Indian girl who spent five years in school at Haskell. Was considered very bright and intelligent. She was adjutant of the girls' battalion for some time. She was a good cook, a good seamstress and an excellent housekeeper. She married a young man who held to the old regime. She now carries the water, chops the wood, builds the fires and gets the breakfast while her Indian helpmeet is lying in bed. She even has the pleasure of applying her quickened intellect to the pleasant task of harnessing the horses while her so-called better half seeks repose.

Example 13. A Cheyenne boy went to the Arapaho boarding-school for a number of years, then he went to Carlisle for a short time. From Carlisle he was sent to Fort Wayne, Indiana, to attend college, and, he says, to study for the ministry. After leaving Fort Wayne he returned home for a time and then came to Haskell. He finally secured a permit to enter the State University. He did not succeed very well at the University, and subsequently returned to Haskell. At Haskell he went to work in the tailor's shop. He finally gave up school and returned to the reservation to engage in the Y. M. C. A. work at home. This in turn was given up and his time is now spent in roaming over the Cheyenne reservation, apparently without thought of rendering service to himself or anybody else. He has resumed the

habits and customs of his tribe and draws his rations with the other worthless wards of the nation.

Example 14. A young man who went to Carlisle for three years. After taking a vacation for a short time he entered Haskell for three and one-half years. After this he returned to Carlisle for two years. During the summer of 1891, he was observed in a state of nature under the care of an Indian doctor. He had an excellent character in every way. But he said, that "he must either get away from the tribe or go back to the old habits."

Example 15. A Cheyenne Indian boy who spent either three or five years at Carlisle. After a short vacation he entered Haskell, where he remained three years. At the latter place he thoroughly mastered the tailor's trade. He was made superintendent of the tailor shop at Haskell, and after returning to the reservation he performed a similar office. While in charge of the tailoring establishment at the Cheyenne reservation the camp Indians would continually ask him for money and presents. Being of a generous nature he found at the end of the month that he had invariably overdrawn his salary, or in other words, had spent more than he had earned. He finally became discouraged and went to camp and married a squaw, and now lives like his fellows on the rations of the government. He was a good workman in every respect, but the surroundings of the reservation were against his success and he failed. The begging propensity of the average Indian on the reservation is unlimited. The various traders understand this, and of a necessity feel compelled to charge a high price for goods in order to make up for the many presents which it is policy to give. I am told by one acquainted with the Osage agency that the Indians expect to receive all of their tobacco gratis. This last example illustrates very clearly what chance a young man may have for success if turned back to the tribe. All are interested in retarding his progress and in bringing him back to the level of camp life. While, if he is capable of earning anything, the old tribal spirit comes in to claim its share.

Example 16 records the results of education in the case of another young Cheyenne. He spent a term at Haskell, during which time he was president of the battalion, president of the Y. M. C. A., and in fact a leader in all school work. After returning to the agency he was corresponding secretary of the Y. M. C. A. He, too, finally became discouraged and succumbed to the influences of camp life. He married an Indian woman with three children and now the government generously supports him and his family. Yet who can doubt that had this young man had a fair chance under favorable influences that he might have been a success. It is true that the Indian youth prob-

ably has not the character nor the opportunity to compete with the average white boy who is well educated. There are not as yet, nor can we expect for many years to come to find, the necessary qualities in the Indian youth which incite him to *make* a place where there is none. In this he cannot compare to the average white American. Yet it is the duty of the government to give him the best opportunities possible; and while he is taught self-reliance in the schools, opportunities should be given him for its exercise under circumstances not wholly against him.

Example 17. Another young Cheyenne who spent four years at Haskell and stayed in other institutions for a considerable length of time has gone the way of the useless and the do-less. While in Haskell he was adjutant of the battalion and was noted as a superior officer. He was a good farmer and could read and write English well. He owns 160 acres of land and his squaw owns another tract of the same size. But in practice he is a veritable camp Indian. He receives his rations from the government and does nothing towards his own support. He lives with his family in a tepee about six by eight feet, and just high enough to receive him standing. He is now living with his second woman since leaving school.

Example 18. The sister of the preceding example had been in Haskell for a period of six years and had advanced to the sixth grade. She had practically forgotten her own language. When she reached the agency she cried to be brought back to school, but her mother refused to allow her to come back. She said that her daughter had forgotten her native language and that she did not want her daughter to adopt "white man's ways." She lived sixty miles from the agency in order to keep the child from running away. Her brother was asked to use his influence to have the girl returned to school, but he responded, "No; mother would kill me if I did." This is a clear case in which the government should take its own course and bring the girl back to school. The only hope in Indian education is with the younger generations. There is no hope for the average adult who has not already been educated. It is the duty of the government to see to it that the younger generation is not ruined by the older.

These may seem isolated examples. It ought, therefore, to be stated that of sixty-seven boys whose career has been followed with the view of learning the results of their education after their attendance at Haskell, it was found that only three were pursuing anything beyond the life of an ordinary camp Indian. They were living in blankets and attending ghost dances. Without a single exception, when

asked "Why are you doing this way?" the answer was, "Because I have nothing else to do." These sixty-seven were from the Cheyenne and Arapahoe tribes.

Many of the evils enumerated above will disappear as the schools grow older and leave their impress upon the Indian pupils. The rapid education of all the children will tend to popularize the work and carry such momentum with it that the uneducated will be the exceptions, who will have little force in shaping the affairs of the tribe. The tribal spirit and influence will gradually die out and lose its retarding influence. In the meantime the Federal government should see to it that the educated youth is sent out of the school under its special care, until such time as he can care for himself by the utilization of his education.

The conditions of tribes vary much in respect to their susceptibility for improvement, and their disposition toward education. Some tribes possess and exhibit a progressive spirit, while in others there is a strong tendency downward. The foregoing examples are taken from a variety of tribes, and the results obtained are general in their nature. The true way to study the capacity and nature of the Indian is by tribes, and much care should be given to the different characteristics of these. While it would be a good plan to break up tribal relations as rapidly as possible, close observance of existing conditions must be made by those who deal with the Indian in a moral, religious, educative, or political way.

But the great difficulty still remains with all tribes, whether semi-civilized, barbarous or wild. It is the problem of contact with the white race and the adjustment of their lives to the conditions of modern civilization. Wherever an inferior and a superior race have come in contact there has always been more or less difficulty. This difficulty cannot be avoided, but must be met and solved on right principles. The race problem is as old as history itself, but we observe it more closely and distinctly in relation to the Indians of the west than in any other

place. Formal treaties and agreements may be made between the inferior and superior races; they may be able to get along peaceably with one another, or there may be constant discord and disagreement. The superior race may dominate over the inferior, or stand in the parental position towards it, and still there may be for a time unity and peace. But the moment the attempt is made to force the inferior race into competition with the superior, to educate it, and turn it out in the common struggle for existence, unprotected and unassisted by any power, the inferior race will be overcome by the superior in this struggle. One of the most striking illustrations of this is found in the contact of the Americans with the Spanish neophytes of the southwest. The Franciscan fathers, who came into California at an early date gathered the savages into villages, instructed them in the elements of learning and in the practice of the work shop and the industrial arts. Over thirty thousand Indians were thus instructed in the elements of civilized life. Through one hundred years this civilization of the Indian went on. Property was accumulated, fields cultivated, harvests were reaped. Great herds of stock roamed over the pastures, fruit and flowers developed in the gardens, and one would say, to look upon the picture, that, indeed, a method had at last been discovered by which the savage of the forest could be forced to adopt our modern civilization. Yet all of this was merely appearance, the whole education was accomplished by imitation—the self-determining principle in religion or industry had not yet developed.

The missionaries were to the Indians as parents. They watched over them as children, and called them such. The Indians knew nothing of independent action or self-government. So long as the missionaries were with them and over them they could carry on the imitative process of education, but once left alone there was nothing left for them but to be crushed out of existence. The difficulties which arose after the conquest of California by Mexico need not be

recounted, sufficient to say that the Indians were left unprotected in their contact with the white race, and soon went down before it. Of the thirty thousand in 1834 which were apparently living so happily in their crude villages and missions, only four thousand remained ten years after. The rest were scattered up and down the coast, knowing not where to go or what to do. Thousands returned to their wild life, and in a short time but few effects could be traced of the great civilization wrought by the *padres*.

Here, then, lies the great Indian problem of to-day. No one need criticise the progress that has been made in our best schools. They are thorough, earnest, and efficient; they make the Indian self-supporting, and dismiss him in a condition to compete with the Anglo-Saxon in the industries of life. They attempt to keep him from the reservation where the overwhelming influences of the tribe, the *tepee* and the camp shall not reach him. This, indeed, is the true problem of Indian education. The schools should not stop, but go on with more vigor and more spirit than ever; they should receive all that is necessary to make them thorough and efficient and painstaking. But some attempt, at least, should be made to carry the results of this education beyond the walls of the school room. The government must see to it that this education is not lost; that the tribal life of the Indian, with its baneful influences, be broken up; that those who are prepared with practical trades shall have an opportunity for their exercise; that they shall be given a chance to till the soil; that they shall be given an undisputed title to the land; that all government support be withdrawn from the tribes, and they be put in the way of earning a living. If they fail to earn a living through sloth or idleness, let them receive the punishment which nature has appointed. The government must deal with the Indian problem as a matter of business, and not as a matter of sentiment. It should see that the tribes are broken up as soon as possible; that lands are rapidly apportioned; that education is pushed as rapidly as possible; that justice is

given to all, and that the system of begging and ration support is abolished at once in every case where unaided subsistence is possible to the Indian.

When the national system of education is completed and the lands have all been allotted in severalty a new problem of education will doubtless arise, that of how to turn the educational work over to the States. The lands and property of the Indians will eventually be taxed by the States in which they are located. It will be noted that the only national educational system that we have outside of the naval and military schools is that of the Indians. While the government has assisted various educational enterprises from time to time by appropriations and land grants, it has studiously avoided the control of education coming within the jurisdiction of the various States. It will doubtless be so with the Indians when the tribes are incorporated within the bounds of their respective States. If Oklahoma is admitted as a State, including the five civilized tribes, the property of the latter will become the taxable property of the State, and their schools a part of the State system. It will eventually be so with all tribes, and national Indian education will be a thing of the past, except perhaps, in case of a few special training schools like Haskell and Carlisle.

The system of allotment of lands is largely dependent upon education for its final success. There are many difficulties in the way of its final attainment. The Dawes Indian Bill, which provided for the re-allotment of lands to Indians in private ownership, was a step in the right direction, for in no other way can the Indian problem be solved. The lands are divided among the Indians and each one is given his proper proportion upon which he may live to till the soil. But the moment an attempt is made to carry out this law many difficulties arise. Some of the lands in the reservation which are to be divided are poor and not suitable for agriculture ; they can only be used for grazing lands ; others are fertile. Many

Indians do not know the difference between good and poor lands. Moreover it will be seen by an examination of the tribal relations that the tribe is supposed to own the lands in common, and in theory each member of the tribe is to have his share. Practically we find that the richer members of the tribe own and control the land and the poor have nothing to do with it. We also find another difficulty arising : to tell an Indian that he is entitled to 160 acres of land and place him upon it without tools, without money, without knowledge of agriculture, and what is worse, with no desire to become independent and self-supporting, you have told him that the beneficent law allows him to go out on the plains and die at his leisure. These and other difficulties make it quite impossible to execute the law rapidly. However, it may be said that it is gaining slowly and the allotment of lands has been pushed as rapidly as was practicable.

The first lands were allotted to the Indians in severalty at the beginning of 1839 in Wisconsin. In the provisions of the bill providing for this there were no restrictions on alienation. The Indians could sell their lands at will, and there were plenty of persons ready to take them at their own terms of dictation. The lands were soon squandered and the Indians left homeless. The Dawes Act provided that the lands should be inalienable for the period of twenty-five years, and this period may be indefinitely extended by the President of the United States. At the end of this time the occupant is given a deed (in fee simple) for the property. By this measure the occupant is secured in his right and property for the term of twenty-five years. It is thought that within this time the Indian, through education and his acquaintance with civilized life, may become self-sustaining and desire to hold the lands. Nothing else but toil will preserve his race from utter destruction. It is hoped in this manner that he will conform to circumstances and at least learn enough of our civilization to understand how to hold what land he has and get more, if possible, after the

manner of the white man. This can only be accomplished by arousing the Indian through education to a sense of his condition and needs.

To give a wild Indian, accustomed to the chase or to a roaming life, land and tell him to live upon it without breaking up his preconceived notions of life, will be of little service. He must be taught how to build homes, how to live in homes and to support himself and to provide for the extreme necessities, at least, of modern life. These things can only be taught in schools established and carried on for that purpose, and by teaching the Indian the practice of agriculture and of local government.

One of the methods by which the Indian youth may make himself useful is service in the Federal army. It was a view of Aristotle and other great writers that the army was the best training school for citizenship. There can be no doubt of this in respect to some barbarous tribes. The discipline, or rather the learning to obey, is indeed, among the first principles of citizenship. It would be the first and best road to self-government. Those who have observed the results of military discipline in our training schools will observe, too, that the Indians take very kindly to army drill and become very proficient as soldiers. There is no reason why that large number of young men who find it difficult to enter modern industrial and commercial life should not find here an opening for distinguished faithful service. Up to this time quite a number of Indians have been enlisted in the service of the army. Yet this work has not been carried far enough to show what can be done. It promises well at least. But it well illustrates a principle in Indian education. The Indian must be drilled, trained and placed in an occupation which offers protection on the one hand and restraint on the other. Otherwise he will not be able to compete with the white race in the economic struggle for land or the political struggle for power.

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